1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

233 three thousand reindeer, and the largest herd that I ever saw near the Indighirka River was estimated at something over five thousand reindeer.

It is true that the Tungus, when speaking to Russians, always underestimate the number of their reindeer, so as to appear poor, since they do not like to kill them for meat, for which the Russians come; but such is not the case with the Koryak. They are very vain and boastful in that respect, and are prone to exaggerate the size of their herds. In the Taigonos Peninsula the chieftain would frequently say to me, "I am a rich man: I am very rich in reindeer." On the contrary, Abraham, the Tungus whom I mentioned above, tried to underrate in my opinion the size of his herd, calling my attention to the fact that it did not belong to him alone, but that all of his relatives had a share in it.

[592] On the Taigonos Peninsula, where the Koryak have mastered the art of counting, I took a census of the reindeer by households (I use the word "household" and not "family," because usually brothers and other relatives keep their herds together). I do not consider the figures that follow absolutely accurate, but they will give an approximate idea of the value of the Koryak reindeer industry.

233 I enumerated sixty-three households, which gave a total of 17,000
592 reindeer. The four largest herds numbered 2,000, 2,500, 3,500, and 5,000
511 head respectively. The remaining households had from five reindeer to eight hundred reindeer each. Thirty-four households, or more than half, had from five to fifty reindeer each. The majority of owners of small herds had no households of their own, but worked as herdsmen for the wealthy reindeer-breeders. Dividing 17,000 (reindeer) by 318 (the total number of Taigonos Koryak), and multiplying the quotient by 3,748 (the total number of Reindeer Koryak), we get 200,000, the probable total of Koryak reindeer.

233 The Koryak reindeer are intended mainly for slaughter. With the
437 exception of a small number used for racing, driving, and as draught-animals
439 in their migrations, the entire herd of a wealthy Koryak serves for consumption in various ways. From his herd he gets meat for food, and skins for clothing and tents, and he exchanges the slaughtered reindeer and their skins for articles of consumption which he does not possess. From the Maritime Koryak he gets by barter walrus and seal thongs, fat, oil, and meat, iron-ware made by their smiths, embroidered funeral dress, and dried fly-agaric. From the Russians he receives in exchange tea, tobacco, bread, printed cloth, and other imported goods. With the hunters he exchanges his reindeer-meat and reindeer-skins for the furs of fur-animals, which he again exchanges with Russian merchants for imported goods.

233 The great mass of the Tungus find in the reindeer merely a means of
171 transportation. The Tungus households which own large herds are not of a uniform type throughout. In the Gishiga district the Tungus household has

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 R44 Koryak R44

I will remark here that seals are hauled from the shore to the village over the ground or ice by means of a thong, which is usually passed through a slit running from under the lower jaw through the mouth. I did not see among the Maritime Koryak of Penshina Bay any small sleds such as are used by the Chukchee and Eskimo for conveying home seals.[1]

In the Bays of the Sea of Okhotsk there are no walruses and sea-lions, nor any ribbon-seals *(Histriophoca fasciata)*. Old people in the village of Itkana told me that they knew of one case of a walrus being caught in Penshina Bay. How reliable this information is I do not know. The walrus in Bering Sea has decreased very much in numbers owing to its incessant unlawful pursuit. They are hunted by the Koryak in the same way as seals, — mainly with harpoons. In former times the Karagha estuary and the bays of Karagha Island were favorite localities for walrusing.

HUNTING OF LAND-GAME. — The wild reindeer and the mountain-sheep or Kamchatka big-horn (*Ovis nivicola* Eschholtz) are the only wild land-animals killed by the Koryak for food. The elk and the musk-deer, which are met with on the southern coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk and west of the Stanovoy Mountains, are unknown in the Koryak territory, at least nowadays.

The hunt of wild reindeer is unimportant; and there are few hunters who make a specialty of this pursuit, as is the case among the Yukaghir and Tungus. Besides, the wild reindeer in the Koryak territory are not numerous. The domestic reindeer, for which the best pastures are selected, has pushed the wild herds to the north or to the less favorable pastures of the mountain-chains. They are found in small herds only, on mountain-tops in summer, and in the tundras and river-valleys in winter. On the Palpal Ridge a wild reindeer is found which crosses the Anadyr River and lives in summer on the coast of the Arctic Ocean. Small herds of the migratory wild reindeer reach the most southerly parts of the Koryak territory. The Maritime Koryak rarely hunt the wild reindeer. It is pursued principally by the inhabitants of northern Kamchatka and of the Parapol Valley, and particularly by the Koryak on the Palpal.[2] Still the hunt is not carried on regularly. In domestic life, as well as in trade, the wild reindeer is of slight importance only. Skins of wild reindeer are not exported from Gishiga; while among the number of reindeer-skins exported from the Anadyr and the Kolyma Rivers the skins of wild reindeer occupy an important place,[3] since on these rivers many are killed during their migrations to the north and back.

Like the wild goat, the mountain-sheep is fond of rocky mountain-tops, where it feeds on alpine marshes. It is especially numerous in the Kam-

[1] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 107.

[2] In regard to the methods of hunting wild reindeer compare Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, pp. 132—136; Jochelson, Sketch of the Hunting Pursuits and Peltry Trade in the Kolyma Country (St. Petersburg, 1898), pp. 41—48.

[3] See Jochelson, Sketch of the Hunting Pursuits and Peltry Trade in the Kolyma Country, p. 38.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

224 chatka Mountains. It is hunted in the mountains of northern Kamchatka,
136 the Ma'meč Ridge, the ranges of the Alutorsk region, farther to the north, and in the mountains of the western coast of Penshina Bay and the Taigonos Peninsula. The meat and fat of the mountain-sheep are considered a very toothsome dish. The hunt for the animal takes place principally in autumn, when the sheep take on a thick layer of fat, and their skin is covered with new and strong wool. The fur of the mountain-sheep is considered warmer than that of the reindeer. Occasionally the animal is killed in other seasons also. Among the Maritime Koryak of northern Kamchatka there are special hunters who go out into the mountains in autumn and in the beginning of winter to hunt sheep. Some of the Taigonos Reindeer Koryak hunt it succesfully in winter. During my stay on the Topolovka River, in the latter part of April, 1901, two Koryak of the camp in which I lived killed four mountain-sheep. In Kamenskoye I saw a Maritime Koryak from the village Ma'meč who had killed twenty sheep during the winter of 1900–01. The skin of the sheep, like that of the wild reindeer, is not exported. In olden times the sheep was hunted with the bow, but now
237] it is pursued almost exclusively with the gun. Besides its meat and skin, the sheep yields splendid horns (from half to three-quarters of a metre long, following the curvature), which are used for the manufacture of various articles, like spoons, ladles, and cups, and also for carvings.

Hunting of Fur-Bearing Animals. — I will begin my description with the hunt of the bear, for, like the wild reindeer and the sheep, not only its skin is used, but its meat is eaten as well, especially in autumn, when the bear is fat. The brown bear (*Ursus beringianus* Middendorf; Koryak, koi'ăin) is abundant in Kamchatka, where the rivers are rich in fish. In the
439] Koryak territory bears are also quite numerous. In 1899, 380 bear-skins were exported to Vladivostok from Gishiga and Alutorsk.[1] In summer, bears are killed when they come down from the mountains to the river-valleys and the seacoast to hunt fish; in autumn, when feeding on berries or when visiting the storehouses of the Koryak to steal the fish stored there for winter use; and in winter they are killed in their lairs. In the spring, when the bear leaves its lair, it is killed only in self-defence. The bear is then lean, and its skin useless; but an encounter with it at this season is not safe for man. In summer and autumn the bear rarely attacks man, usually taking flight on meeting him. It is said that in autumn, when a bear happens to surprise women while picking berries, it merely takes the berries away from
124 them, letting them go unharmed. In summer and autumn the Koryak kill bears mainly with the gun; in olden days they used the bow for this purpose. Not infrequently they attack the bear with the spear. In both cases,

[1] See Chapter XIII, Trade.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

224 136 very best. They are equal in value to those of Kamchatka and the Anadyr. Since the arrival of the Russians in this region, the number of foxes has considerably fallen off, and they are now nearly extinct. In the neighborhood of the Russian villages they are not seen at all. Their number varies considerably from year to year. Their migration northward or southward depends on the presence of mice or hares, which foxes follow.

The Arctic fox *(Vulpes lagopus)* occurs in much smaller numbers than the red fox. It is a tundra animal *par excellence*, and is found more often in the treeless eastern part of the Koryak country than in the western district. Blue foxes are very rare: their number constitutes about one per cent of that of the white foxes. The methods of hunting the polar fox are identical with those used for the red fox.

The squirrel *(Sciurus vulgaris)* is hardly hunted at all. It is found in small numbers on the upper course of the Gishiga and Penshina and of their tributaries, but is absent in the treeless and maritime region. In Kamchatka the squirrel does not occur at all, even in the wooded localities of the central ridge. A small number of squirrels are obtained in the Gishiga district by the Tungus, but by far the greater part of squirrel-skins which are exported by way of Gishiga is obtained from nomadic Tungus in the Kolyma district and partly in the Okhotsk district. In former times the Tungus killed squirrels by means of the bow. They used blunt arrows made of bone, so as not to spoil the skin. The hunters would aim at the head of the animal when it was sitting in a tree. The blunt arrow would only daze it, and it would fall to the ground, where it was picked up by the hunter. If still capable of running, the squirrel was caught by the hunting-dog. Nowadays the place of the bow has been taken by the flint-lock gun with thin bore for bullets of the size of a pea, which do not injure the skin.

● 439] The sable (*Mustela zibellina*, Linn.), the most valuable fur-animal of Siberia, was undoubtedly at one time more widespread than it is now. At present only a few dozen sable-skins are exported annually from Gishiga. These are caught in the river-valleys of Penshina and Opuka, and partly in northern Kamchatka. In southern Kamchatka the Kamchadal even now kill nearly two thousand sables annually. The highest value is placed on those from the valleys of the Olekma and the Vitim, tributaries of the Lena, and from Nerchinsk in Transbaikalia. They possess a down which is entirely dark and of bluish tinge, and long, soft, glossy black hair. The finest sables have silver-tipped hair. The sable of Kamchatka is not inferior to that of Olekma in thickness of down and softness of hair; but, since it has a russet color, the fur is of inferior quality, resembling marter-fur. The Koryak sable is somewhat darker than that of Kamchatka. The sable is hunted with the gun, in the same way as the squirrel. It is a good climber, and in time of danger takes to treetops for safety. The flintlock gun used for hunting

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Vaccinium Vitis idæa, *Rubus chamæmorus*, and also *Lonicera cærulea* and *Prunus padus* (in northern Kamchatka). Bleaberries (*Vaccinium uliginosum*) are considered the best. In Kamchatka the fruit of *Prunus padus* is crushed, and dried in the sun in the form of flat cakes.

Puddings made of crushed berries, roe, fish and seal oil, are frozen and then eaten, pieces being chopped off with a knife. These puddings are considered a treat for visitors, and excellent travelling-provisions.

Fig. 112 ($\frac{1}{11}$). Bone Pestle. Length, 23 cm.

Berries are picked in summer and autumn. The Reindeer Koryak have more opportunity than the Maritime Koryak to pick the cloudberry (*Rubus chamæmorus*), which grows in the tundra; but they do not store it, and they eat it right after picking.

Other food-plants are the fruit of the wild rose (*Rosa alpina* Pall.), the mountain ash, sea-colewort, cedarnuts, and willow-bark. Sea-colewort (*Alaria esculanta;* Koryak, me'čgomei) is eaten not only by the Maritime Koryak, but also by the Reindeer Koryak when hunting on the seacoast in summer. It is cut with a knife, and cooked with seal or reindeer blood, or also with reindeer-meat. Cedar-nuts are gathered late in autumn, extracted from their cones, and preserved in small skin bags. It is interesting to note that the Koryak eat the nuts with their shells on. The inner portion of willow-bark is also consumed. It is stripped off the trees, crushed with a stone hammer, and cooked with fish. It is also chewed raw.

To the vegetable foods used by the Reindeer Koryak must also be added the contents of the reindeer's first stomach, which consists of reindeer-moss not completely digested. This greenish mass is cooked with reindeer-blood. This food, however, is now beginning to drop out of use. Wealthy reindeer-breeders usually throw away the contents of the reindeer stomach; but when other food is lacking, the herdsmen eat them.

The winter supplies of berries, roots, and other edible plants, are not large, and do not figure as an essential or constant ingredient of nourishment. Towards the middle of winter, hardly any supplies of vegetable food are left; and towards spring, when animal food is about to give out, all the vegetable food has been consumed.

Flour and rice are sold by Russian dealers. These products may also be found at the government depot in Gishiga, where they are sold to the natives at cost price.

The Koryak are very fond of these imported vegetable products, particularly of rice, of which gruel is cooked and eaten with seal-oil or reindeer-fat. They like wheat flour, but not rye flour. It is mixed with water or blood, and

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

boiled as a gruel. Most of the Koryak can rarely afford to have imported food, as they have no money with which to buy it. Biscuits and fresh bread also have the reputation of being good food; but these, too, very rarely come within their reach. In winter the cossaks and other Russian inhabitants take bread to the Koryak villages and camps, and exchange it for reindeer-meat and other products. Still the Koryak look upon biscuit and bread rather as a dainty, and not as a real food on which a human being can subsist. I have heard the Koryak say that when they eat too much bread, they suffer from stomach-ache.

Tea came to be known after the people had come into contact with the Russians. At present its use is wide-spread everywhere. Most of the Koryak, however, have no tea in summer, as they lack the means to buy large supplies. The kind of tea used is brick-tea. To make tea, the brick is heated by the hearth, as a result of which it becomes soft and can be minced with a knife. The minced tea is boiled in a tea-pot. The tea decoction is strong, and almost black in color. Brick-tea is inferior to leaf-tea as a stimulant. The Koryak drink much tea, ten and more cups in succession, and do so several times a day, provided they find any one willing to treat them. Usually the Koryak drink tea after meals; but when guests are feasted, a light side-dish, like sun-dried fish, marrow from reindeer-legs, or berry-pudding, is served first, then tea, and finally meat dishes. Tea is served in the same order by the other inhabitants of northeastern Siberia; for instance, by the Yakut, Tungus, and Yukaghir. A teapot and two or three cups of crockery or enamelled ware, with saucers, are found in nearly every house. They are preserved as treasures, in special boxes with holes chiselled out for the cups; or they are wrapped in soft rags. In the absence of a sufficient number of cups, they drink tea by turns, the women and children after the older people. Visitors usually bring their own cups with them. . . The Koryak also have home-made cups made of deer-antler and horn of the mountain-sheep. The small tin cans in which our condensed milk was put up were very cleverly turned into cups with tin handles. The Koryak drink the hottest tea from them without burning their lips.

Narcotics and Stimulants. — The Koryak have also learned the use of tobacco from the Russians, and, like all other Siberian natives, they are passionately fond of it. But while others, the Chukchee among them, mainly smoke tobacco, very few smokers are found among the Koryak. Generally they chew it, more rarely they snuff it, or they use it in both ways. They use strong Russian leaf-tobacco, imported from the south of European Russia, in bunches of about two pounds each.

For both chewing and snuffing, the tobacco is ground with ashes. Fig. 113 shows a wooden mortar with a pestle for grinding tobacco. When grinding the tobacco, dried leaves of cudweed (*Gnaphalium uliginosum* L.) are often added,

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak R Y4

dazzling light reflected in spring by the snow-fields. The snow-goggles are made of birch-bark or of wood, with a slit for the eyes.[1] In spring, protection of the eyes is of particular importance to herdsmen, who are constantly in the open air, and to drivers, who undertake to carry merchandise on dog-sledges.

Snow-shoes are of two kinds. One kind are short, and are called "crow-feet" (vɛ|vi-yɛgit).[2] They consist of a willow frame plaited with a thong. Herdsmen and hunters wear these snow-shoes for walking over uneven ground and hard snow. The other kind are long, and are called ti-yɛgit.[3] They are made of a thinly planed aspen board, with pointed ends and tip turned upwards, and are lined underneath with the skin from reindeer-legs, the hair running backward. These snow-shoes are suitable for level regions, and give a good support on soft snow, thanks to their light weight and large surface When "crow-feet" snow-shoes are used, the feet are frequently lifted as in walking, while on long snow-shoes gliding alone is resorted to. The Eskimo who, when hunting seal in winter, have to cross rough and hummocky ice, employ snow-shoes similar to the Koryak "crow-feet;"[4] while the long snow-shoes are used more by hunters like the Tungus or Yukaghir, who hunt wild animals in the forests or river-valleys covered with deep and soft snow.

The Koryak, as a rule, do not make the long snow-shoes themselves, but purchase them from the Tungus. The flesh side of the skin is fastened with fish-glue under the wooden snow-shoes. The edges of the skin are turned over to the upper side.

Fig. 130 ($\frac{1}{1\frac{1}{3}}$). Ice-Creeper. Length, 11 cm.

For smooth and slippery ice, the Koryak tie iron creepers under the soles of their shoes (Fig. 130). In ancient times ice-creepers were made of hard wood or bone.

I rarely saw snow-staffs like those of the Chukchee and Eskimo, with attached ring. The Koryak use more often ordinary willow rods, such as are employed in their walks from village to village, from camp to camp, or in foot-races (see Plate XXXVIII, Fig. 1).

YOKES AND CARRYING-STRAPS. — For carrying loads when going afoot, Koryak men use a wooden ɮ'tel. It is usually made of alder or of willow, and consists of a flat stick about 50 cm. long, planed, and somewhat bent so as to fit the chest (Fig. 131), with notches at both ends for attaching the

[1] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Fig. 192, *a*, *b*, p. 260.
[2] Ibid., Fig. 193, *b*, p. 261.
[3] Ibid., Fig. 193, *a*, p. 261.
[4] See Nelson, pp. 213–214; Boas, Baffin-Land Eskimo, pp. 40, 41.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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black. This stitch is identical with the stitch employed in the bottoms of baskets. A fourth method is applied in a few Kamchadal baskets; horizontal bands being made by overlaying an ordinary whipped coil with grass dyed red, or with red, blue, or black strips of cloth. This is held in place by passing every third or fourth stitch over the strip, which is thus woven on the coil (see Fig. 233). Various forms of checker-work, zigzag bands, and rectangles, are the principal figures that are found. The covers of round baskets often bear designs forming rosettes. In one basket Fig. 230, *b*), figures are found which evidently represent human beings.

Fig. 231 ($\frac{2}{15}\frac{9}{73}$). Coiled Basket with Designs made in Nettle-Fibre. Maritime Koryak, North Kamchatka. Greatest diameter, 22.5 cm.

Fig. 232 ($\frac{2}{16}\frac{8}{73}$). Coiled Basket. Maritime Koryak, North Kamchatka. Diameter, 17.5 cm.

281 531 177 [439]

Decoration of Rugs made of Reindeer-Skins. — It is doubtful whether this art was developed among the Koryak women previous to their contact with the Russians. At present it has developed into a domestic industry. Koryak fur rugs are carried by traders far and wide. They may be seen on the walls or floors and among the furniture of Russians living at Petropavlovsk, Okhotsk, Yakutsk, and Vladivostok. In Irkutsk their price is ten times as high as at home. Among the rich Yakut, Koryak rugs of fine workmanship, made of skins of young reindeer, sometimes take the place of the crude rugs of Yakut production made of cow or horse hides.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

627 quarrels. Shortly before the fair, A'inqo took by force two reindeer belonging to Xata'učñın's brother. On their way to the fair, Xata'učñın called at A'inqo's tent, put on his new boots, which were drying outside, and left his old pair in their place. A'inqo said nothing, but Xata'učñin finally decided to settle accounts with him at the fair. The undecided contest of strength with A'inqo, from which Xata'učñın was sure to come off victorious, merely gave a fresh edge to his intentions. Such encounters sometimes end very sadly.

439 TRADE. — I have already spoken of the character which the exchange traffic of the Koryak has assumed at the present time. Here I shall give data on the amount of the export and import trade of this region for the year 1899. These data I obtained from the merchants themselves, who that year were four in number. Three of the firms were situated in Gishiginsk, and the fourth in Baron Korff's Bay. During the winter these firms send their assistants with goods to the settlements and camps of the Koryak, or the assistants arrange purchasing-parties to one of the above localities. Some Russians and Koryak take goods from the merchants on credit, and trade independently in the interior.

The imports for the year 1899, calculated from the selling-prices of the above-mentioned trading-firms, amounted to 47,000 rubles.[1]

The imports consisted of American, Chinese, Japanese, and Russian goods. The American goods were wheat-flour, biscuits, drilling, and axes, to the amount of 5833 rubles. From China came tea (mostly bricks and some black leaf-tea) amounting to 12,489 rubles. The only Japanese importation was rice, 140 rubles. The remaining sum (29,000 rubles) represents Russian goods.

Among the Russian goods, the first place belongs to tobacco (9710 rubles); the second, to manufactured articles, — calico, fustian, cloth, scarfs, tow-ropes, and thread for nets (6503 rubles); the third to sugar (5258 rubles); the fourth to iron and brass ware (4317 rubles). The remaining sum (about 3500 rubles) covers ornaments, matches, candles, and articles of luxury, such as butter, soap, ready-made clothes, sweets, petroleum, and other articles consumed by the Russians themselves.

To the total amount of the imports must be added the articles sold by the Government store, — flour, rice, weight iron, powder, and lead, — amounting, during the year, to about 10,000 rubles. A certain sum must also be counted for the contraband trade in alcohol, the sale of which is prohibited.

Barter, to a small extent, is carried on by the Koryak with American whalers of Penshina Bay and Bering Sea.

EXPORTS. — In 1899 the following goods were exported to Vladivostok from Gishiginsk and Baron Korff's Bay.

[1] A ruble is equivalent to about fifty cents.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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EXPORTS FROM GISHIGINSK AND BARON KORFF'S BAY.

	TOTAL COST.	AVERAGE COST.	
	Rubles.	*Rubles.*	*Kopeks.*[1]
1. Sables (85 skins)	1825	21	47
2. Red foxes (1743 skins)	8460	4	86
3. Gray foxes (122 skins)	1524	12	49
4. White Arctic foxes, adults (525 skins)	1535	2	92
5. White Arctic foxes, cubs (332 skins)	347	1	4
6. Blue Arctic foxes (4 skins)	48	12	—
7. Fox-paws (1350 pieces)	338	—	21
8. Squirrels (28,230 skins)	5635	—	20
9. Squirrel-tails (6 pounds)	18	3	—
10. Black bears (380 skins)	4848	12	76
11. White bears (4 skins)	200	50	—
12. Wolves (120 skins)	576	4	60
13. Otters (14 skins)	150	10	71
14. Beavers (69 skins)[2]	957	13	90
15. Ermines (124 skins)	24	—	19
16. Marmots (105 skins)	78	—	74
17. Spring fawn-skins (1810)	7694	—	42
18. Fall fawn-skins (10,520)	15370	1	46
19. Summer skins (1350)	930	—	69
20. Winter skins of adult reindeer (650)	456	—	70
21. Dressed reindeer-skins (1555)	1555	1	—
22. Reindeer-feet skins (3000 pieces)	150	—	5
23. Rugs of Reindeer-fur (10 pieces)	140	14	—
24. Coats of reindeer-fur (76)	650	8	55
25. Coats of reindeer-leather (41)	123	3	—
26. Gloves of reindeer-leather (22 pairs)	22	1	—
27. Boots of reindeer-fur (254 pieces)	708	2	9
28. Spotted-seal skins (98 pieces)	147	1	50
29. Thong-seal thongs (1450 sashen[3])	145	—	10
30. Whalebone (82 puds[4])	328	4	—
31. Walrus-tusks (25 puds[4])	620	24	80
32. Mammoth-bone (25 puds)	500	20	—
Total exports	56,831 rubles.		

[1] A kopek is equivalent to about half a cent.

[2] Beavers are not found in northeastern Siberia. Those exported were skins of *Castor canadensis*, and of American origin. The Chukchee near Bering Strait acquire them from the American Eskimo through barter, and sell them to the Russian traders of the Kolyma, Anadyr, and Gishiga districts.

[3] Sashen (САЖЕНЬ) is equivalent to 7 feet.

[4] A pud is equivalent to 40 Russian or 36 English pounds.

17:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY4 Koryak RY4

The first information about the Koryaks was received in Russia from the Cossacks Semen Dezhnev and Mikhail Stadukhin. The Russian moves from the Anadyr' Fort to Kamchatka began with the campaigns of Morozko (1690) and Atlasov (1697–1698). Arbitrary exaction of the fur-tax and, especially, abuses on the part of representatives of the tsar's government encountered Koryak resistance, in the form of armed attack on the units of tax-collectors.

During the latter half of the 18th century, the change in the Russian tax policy (decreased levies and establishment of a fixed tax) resulted in a cessation of the armed attacks on Russian units. The tsarist government also tried to make use of the wealthy upper stratum of Koryak society for its own benefit. Under the new regulations, the tax was submitted by the wealthy Koryaks, who were granted the right to collect it from the population. Supporting and strengthening the exploiting upper group in this manner, the tsarist government also admitted some of its representatives to administrative positions. Thus, the rich baptized toyon of the village of Kamenskoye, Semen Um'yavin, was even a member of the lower District Court during the reign of Catherine II.

In organizing the taxation, the local Russian administration formed administrative units ("clans"), which consisted of neighboring villages of coastal Koryaks and specified territorial groups of reindeer Koryaks. While helping to consolidate the power of the rich Koryaks heading these "clans," the tsarist government also left the Koryaks at the mercy of the commercial exploitation of Russian merchants.

On the whole, the Koryaks lived in a state of subsistence economy in the latter 18th and in the 19th centuries. But side by side with barter between the reindeer-breeding and the coastal Koryaks, there was also a gradual development of trade with Russians. In the 19th century, the Koryaks could not longer manage without imported Russian goods: kettles, iron articles, tobacco, tea, etc. At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, American goods also began to penetrate into Koryak territory. At that time, American traders had their own storehouses on the territory, as well as their own agents, and so on. Trade was usually attended by getting the natives drunk and swindling them, and brought enormous profits to the merchants and buyers.

During the latter half of the 18th century, closer ties developed between the Koryaks and the Russians. At this time, Russian villages sprang up on Koryak territory, including Penzhino, Gizhiga, etc. From the Russians, the Koryaks obtained iron hunting and fishing implements, ready-made twine for their nets, more efficient instruments for working wood and bone, and so on. Under the influence of Russian culture, some of the sedentary Koryaks began to live in frame houses. Russian manufactured goods came into daily use, including metal utensils, food products, and, to a lesser degree, textile goods. The strongest cultural influence of the Russians was among the southern Koryaks. Russian names and surnames became predominant among them.

Economy

In the past, the economic activities of the Koryaks consisted of reindeer-breeding, sea-animal hunting, fishing and hunting. The territorial groups listed earlier differed in their economic life. The Chavchuvens were typical reindeer-breeders. They knew nothing of sea hunting, and fur-animal hunting was to them only an auxiliary occupation; fishing was also unimportant. The economy of the Alyutortsy was unusual in that it combined fishing and

17:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY4 Koryak RY4

175 291 seldom that one could see trousers or footwear of sealskin. Eighteenth-century sources also state that "walking" Koryaks wore clothing of bird-skins. We know nothing of the shape of such dress. The ethnographic literature of the 19th century does not mention it.

Koryak burial clothes (a fur shirt, trousers and boots) were quite distinct. They were made of the skins of white deer. The knee-length fur shirt ended in the back with an elongation (a "tail"). The burial clothes were richly adorned with tassels, fringes and pieces of dog fur. The hem of the shirt was decorated with a strip of geometric embroidery and an edging of wolverine fur.

Man's traveling costume.

Food

184 262 The basic diet of the reindeer-breeding Koryaks consisted of reindeer meat, usually boiled. Bone marrow, kidneys, gristle and leg tendons were also eaten raw. In winter, pounded and crushed frozen meat was eaten. The reindeer-breeders also obtained meat and fat of sea animals from coastal Koryaks by barter. Fish was used in small quantities—boiled in summer, and yukola in winter. The yukola was prepared in the summer or obtained from the coastal Koryaks.

[291] The diet of the various sedentary groups depended on the character of their economic activities. The basic food was fish: boiled in summer, and in the form of yukola or fermented in winter. The upper part of the fish-head (brain, gristle, eyes) was eaten raw and considered a delicacy. Alyutortsy considered the heads of "sour" fish a great delicacy. Southern [177] Koryaks, who were most exposed to Russian influence, boiled fish with cereals, mainly with rice. The meat and fat of sea animals (seal and occasionally white whale) were the favorite food of the coastal Koryaks.

All Koryaks used plant food in large quantities. Lily-root, sedge, wild sorrel and willow-herb were used as seasonings with fish and meat. Crowberry and blueberry were used in making hash (tolkusha)—a dish of grated reindeer or seal meat and fat with an admixture of edible roots and berries. The thick porridge prepared in this manner was a favorite [273] food. Cloudberry and blueberry were eaten raw; the latter was also used in making an intoxicating drink.

262 Among imported products, the Koryaks used tea and sugar. The use
● 439 of flour, of which they made flatcakes, was very limited. Baked bread and zwieback were known only to the sedentary southern Koryaks, who came
276 into close contact with Russians. Widely used was leaf tobacco, which was smoked, but more often kept in the mouth, between the teeth and cheek.
[175] All sources, from the very earliest, speak of the use of fly-agaric by the Koryaks as a stimulant.

Social Relations and Religious Beliefs

At the end of the 19th century, private ownership of the means of production predominated among the Koryaks. In the fields of production and distribution, however, there were numerous survivals of primitive-communal relations, especially among the coastal Koryaks.

17:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY4 Koryak RY4

the White Guards occupied only the largest populated centers, the Soviet government in effect continued to exist in the uyezds. Representatives of the Revolutionary Committee directed the struggle of the local population against the White troops. Thus, a Red guerrilla unit was organized from among the Russians and natives (Koryaks and Itel'mens) of the Tigil'skiy Rayon. In pursuing the Whites, retreating to the Okhotsk coast, this unit crossed the entire territory of the present Koryak (National) Okrug by dog team in wintertime. Together with the Red Army unit which had occupied the city of Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy by this time (1922), the Russian-Koryak guerrilla unit took part in mopping up the remnants of Bochkarev's gang near the village of Nayakhan. Individual Whites who managed to escape from Nayakhan and Gizhiga were finished off by the Red Army unit with the direct participation of Koryak reindeer-breeders in the area of Korfa Bay.

The winter of 1922-23 marked the final establishment of the Soviet government on Koryak territory. The short rule of the Whites had been attended by open looting of the population; the reindeer-breeding Koryaks of Taygonos Peninsula suffered most of all, since the White units confiscated their reindeer for transportation and food. The representative of the White government in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy granted Japanese capitalists the exclusive fishing rights within an area that included the present Koryak National Okrug. Japanese and American traders were also given the freedom to purchase furs from the natives.

During the early years of the Soviet regime (1923-1926), the uyezd, and later the rayon revolutionary committees had to do a great deal of work in order to overcome the grave effects of the civil war.

In 1930, after the First Congress of Soviets of Kamchatka, wide activity was launched in organizing local soviets, cooperatives and various socio-cultural institutions. Particular attention was given to the development of Soviet trade. New trading centers were established in a number of villages, where Koryaks were able to obtain essential provisions, hunting guns and ammunition. The establishment of fixed prices on furs and reindeer skins made it possible for the Koryaks to start improving their economic level.

A large role in raising the cultural level of the Koryak population was played by the cultural base opened on the Penzhina River in 1930 by the Committee to Assist the Peoples of the North. The establishment of an independent Koryak National Okrug (December 1930) stimulated the further successes of economic and cultural construction among the Koryaks.

Collectivization among the Koryaks, particularly among the nomadic reindeer-breeders, was conducted under conditions of class struggle. The wealthy Chavchuven reindeer-breeders destroyed large parts of their herds and did everything they could to interfere with the collective farms.

The remnants of primitive-communal relations which had masked exploitation at first impeded the unification of individual households into collective farms. The first forms of cooperative associations among the Koryaks were societies for the common herding of reindeer. Later, the principal form of association was the cooperative.

The development of collective farms entailed transition to sedentary life. The process of settling down was especially complex and difficult for the reindeer-breeders, both because of their traditionally nomadic existence, and because of the conditions of the reindeer-breeding industry itself; the change of pastures demanded frequent migrations. In the transition to sedentary life, this complex problem was solved as follows: pastures were assigned to individual collectives, and the tending and care of the herds were put in the hands of special brigades of herders, which accompanied the herds. The rest of the collective-farm

22:Barrett-Hamilton and Jones--285 N-2 (1897) 1898 Koryak
116, 161, 342, 361, 439

"The little village of Karaga consists of seventeen straggling balagans, (1) six yurts,

1. A balagan is a wooden hut raised on piles to a height of about 10 feet from the ground.

(2) or mud huts, and one small tent, plainly labelled with the name and address of a firm

2. A yurt is a wooden hut covered over with sods and grass.

of San Francisco merchants, the tent having been apparently constructed of flour-bags sewn together. The total number of inhabitants can hardly exceed thirty, even supposing that each yurt may be regarded as the residence of a separate family of five individuals, such as is shown in our photograph, p. 287."

23: Krasheninnikov N-3 (1736-40) 1764 Koryak

kotſkoi have great herds, and yet feed for the moſt part upon ſea animals. The *Koreki* would be miſerable if they wanted the rein-deer: for they know no way of keeping themſelves alive, as they do not underſtand how to catch fiſh; and if they did, could not ſoon provide themſelves with boats, nets, or dogs: ſo that the poorer ſort are employed by the richer in feeding their deer, for which they receive meat and cloaths; and if they have any ſmall ſtock of their own, they are allowed to feed them with their maſter's cattle.

The rein-deer *Koreki* exchange their deer and deer-ſkins with the neighbouring people for the very fineſt furrs, of which they have always a large ſtock by them.

The religion of the *Koreki* is more abſurd than that of the *Kamtſchadales*, at leaſt that little chief, of whom I had my information, ſeemed to have ſcarce any idea of a God; they ſeem more to reſpect evil ſpirits, which, according to their opinion, inhabit the rivers and woods: this reſpect ſeems to be owing to their fear. The ſettled *Koreki* acknowledge for their God, the *Kuta* of the *Kamtſchadales*. They have no fixt time of worſhip or offering ſacrifices; but, whenever they pleaſe, they kill either a rein-deer or a dog, which they fix upon a ſtake, turning its face towards the eaſt, leaving only the deer's head and tongue upon the ſtake. They themſelves do not know to whom they make theſe ſacrifices, and only uſe theſe words, *Vio coing yack ne la lu, han be vau*; that is, This to you, and may you ſend us ſomething that is good. The time of ſacrificing is when they are going to paſs any river or waſte, which they think the devils inhabit; then they kill one of their deer, and eating the fleſh, they faſten the bones of the head upon a pole, which they fix oppoſite to the habitation of the ſpirits. When the *Koreki* are afraid of any infectious diſtemper, they kill a dog, and winding the guts upon two poles, they paſs between them.

During